2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

693 609 682 plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be named by the "bairaktar" (head of the tribe). This is only done if the matter cannot be settled by con-jurors chosen by the plaintiff.

The gjaksur has the right to object to two of the con-jurors, who must be replaced by others. The con-jurors are all men of standing in the tribe ("plect," elders; "kren," heads). They examine the facts and hear the accused ("gjaksur") and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood-gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. If they all agree but one, he may be replaced by two others. If still no agreement is come to, the gjaksur may bring more con-jurors, who are members of his family, up to the number of eight.

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the 782 church (or mosque) before which the council has been held. In the 608 church the candles are lighted on the altar, and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood and is, therefore, innocent. Next swear those of his family who may have been summoned, and then all the con-jurors. After this the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood (*v.* Blood Brotherhood).

By Moslems the oath is sworn in the mosque.

693 Each of the con-jurors has to be paid a small fee for his services. The plaintiff in some cases can thus annoy the accused by insisting upon the full number of con-jurors allowed by the law. A priest counts as twelve con-jurors, and sometimes an important elder is reckoned as two.

628 The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.

627 682 To Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari, I am indebted for an account of how two families can make peace voluntarily without appeal to the law. Having ascertained by means of emissaries that peace will be acceptable, the gjaksur and his relatives choose a feast day and enter the house of the injured family with their hands bound. A child placed the wrong way round in a cradle is carried with them. If the peace offer is accepted the lord of blood loosens their bonds and puts the child straight in the cradle. The blood-gelt is then arranged and paid. This custom existed among the Dukagini.

682 628 The above all refers to a murder committed by one man. But it may happen that several men all fire at once and kill a man. A search

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
576 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the
[608] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

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Relationships and Blood Customs

Uncle (father's brother)—Adsh: this is a Turkish word, but is in common use. There is another word, which is Albanian: "Mighe," also "unghe," but "adsh" is commonly used. 601

Aunt (father's sister)—Hallé.
Nephew (brother's or sister's son)—Nipi, collectively Nipnii.
Niece (brother's or sister's daughter)—Mesé.
Son—I biri.
Brother-in-law—Konati.
Son-in-law—Dhaner. Also used for bridegroom and fiancé.
Sister-in-law—Kunata.
Cousin—Kushrin.
Female cousin—Kushrina.
Husband—Shok, i.e. companion; or Bur, i.e. man.
Father-in-law—Vjeher.
Godfather, sponsor—Kumar. Godfather of baptism—Kumar i pakzimit. [608]
Godfather of haircutting—Kumar i flokah.
Tribe—Fis.
Relations collectively—Dzinije.

Vlaznija, lit. brethren. A large family group within the tribe like the Montenegrin bratstvo.
Mehala—a Turkish word used for a group of related houses, i.e. a Vlaznija.
Shpi—House and house community.
Krue—Head of a Vlaznija or Mehala.
Plak—Old man. Hence an elder—member, that is, of a tribal council. [623]
Zoti i shpis—Lord of the house.
Bairaktar—Standard-bearer. Head of Fis (Turkish word).

2. Blood-brotherhood

"But the flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof shall ye not eat" (Gen. ix. 4). 608
"For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof" (Lev. xvii. 14). 174

He who ate the blood would take within him the life of the beast—would become, in fact, partly beast. It follows naturally that he who eats the blood of man establishes kinship with him whose life he thus shares. Blood-brotherhood is a very old and widespread custom. "Whenever the Scythians," says Herodotus (Bk. IV, lxx), "form alliances a large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties . . . in this cup they dip some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After some solemn praying the parties who form the contract . . . finally drink the contents of the bowl."

From the lands lying north-east of the Balkans came down neighbours of the Scythians, the Pechinegs and the Comans, and the Bulgars. The Comans, says B. H. Minns (*v. Scythians and Greeks*), were a

608 628 banks of the Drin to shoot another lad with whose family he was in blood, and who was due to cross the river on the usual inflated sheep-
[501] skins. Drin ran swiftly, the sheep-skin float broke loose. Soon the foe was struggling for life in the torrent. The blood-seeker threw aside his rifle, dashed into the torrent and saved his foe at the risk of his own life. They then and there swore brotherhood and the feud ceased. This episode goes to prove that blood-taking is not vengeance. The drowning of the foe would have in no way settled the feud, for expiatory blood would not have been taken.

608 The old bairaktar of Nikaj heard that I was sister to the King of England and believed a blood alliance with me would be for the good of the tribe. The priest at whose house I was, however, laughed at him uproariously and he was hurt; so I never took part in the ritual.

In Albanian this brotherhood is called "Vllam" or "Vlaa me Tenzone" (brother in God). It is also very commonly called "probotin" or "probo," an obvious corruption of the Serb "pobratim." "Birazel" (? Turkish) was, I was told, used also by the Moslems.

The custom extends all over Albania, but of the South I have no details.

Serbs and Montenegrins

In Montenegro I was often assured that the custom was extinct, and I never came across a case. But it possibly still lingered in out-of-the-way places. People who wished to appear "civilized" in Montenegro were very apt to deny the existence of customs they thought would be despised. But it was admitted that "pobratimstvo" had but recently died out. Medakovitch in 1860 mentions it as prevalent.

The Orthodox Church, both in Serbia and Montenegro, adopted this pagan custom and tried to "Christianize" it.

Two forms of pobratimstvo were known:—

1. "Probratimstvo prichestno" (communion pobratimstvo). "Prichest" is the word for the Holy Communion. It was not, however, a case of the two parties taking the Communion together, but a special ceremony. In the Orthodox Church, when the people receive the Communion, the Host is put into the consecrated wine. The pope takes a portion of the soaked bread in a special spoon and gives it to the communicant. The ritual for pobratimstvo, so far as I could learn, was as follows: The two parties went together to church. The pope read a prayer. The two then took a large goblet full of wine, and both, setting their lips to it, sipped at once. They then broke bread and each ate a piece. They sipped and ate together thus three times and then kissed the cross, the Gospels, and the ikon, and lastly each other. It is a curious

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4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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553 852 [779] belong. With the Moslems no religious character is attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father [608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his god-child;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a [302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 554 Although the Albanian beys have neither written charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely. [779 177]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, [491] as in those of other nations, are said to have been formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 731 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

[1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

escaped from the district, his master might lawfully be shot in his stead. When, however, a servant murdered on his own responsibility, he alone should suffer for the crime. His master was entitled, in dismissing him, to keep back the portion of his wages for which he had not worked, and according to Lek's Kanùn ought not to be shot in his stead. Skanderbeg's law, however, held him as liable in this case as in the former.

The only available information about a servant's seducing a girl or young wife in his master's family comes from Martanesh and Shkrel and dates from past times. In Martanesh the law condemned the man to death for incest because his master was his 'father' and the young woman his 'sister'. In Shkrel he was killed at once if he had sinned with a young wife, but if with a girl he was dismissed with orders to hold his tongue, and only if he talked did the girl's father go and shoot him. As for the girl, she was married to her fiancé as quickly as possible. He was not told that she was pregnant by another man, and would not have cared if he had been. He wanted her as wife and worker and felt sure that he was man enough to keep her straight after marriage; beatings always worked wonders. The child was sent to the servant as soon as born; he never acknowledged it but either killed it or exposed it by the wayside. The father did not dare to beat the girl in case she ran away to the servant; at all costs he had to keep her for her fiancé, who had presumably paid a good proportion of her bride-price and would have killed him had he failed to deliver her. Presumably the fact that a servant was held to be of little or no account saved the wife or girl from the usual punishment for adultery.[1]

Sometimes, despite their being 'brother' and 'sister', a servant married his master's daughter. Thus an ancestor of Bicaj was a Catholic of Gjugjë in Mirditë who entered the service of Hysen Agë Shteki of Bicaj, turned Moslem, and married Hysen Agë's daughter. Even in modern times a servant may be given his master's daughter in marriage. This is particularly likely to happen if his master is Moslem and he a Christian who agrees to change his religion. His master then looks on his own consent to the marriage as an act of piety. Servants varied in importance according to the master they served. Thus the servant of a Moslem priest (*hoxhë*) had more power than an ordinary peasant's and less than a bajraktar's —at least in the days before most bajraktars were shorn of their

[1] See Chapter XXI.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

In a few cases vengeance was lawfully taken by men who were not, strictly speaking, members of the victim's family. Theoretically, the man who had 'drunk blood' with the victim[1] and so had become his foster-brother could not go alone to avenge him, for he had not been an actual member of his household. In Lumë and Labinot such a man was held to the letter of the law, and could take vengeance only when accompanied by the victim's 'brother'; taking it when alone involved him in a separate feud with the murderer, with no benefit to the victim's family. In many other districts it was recognized that great love must have existed between the two men before they swore blood-brotherhood, and in virtue of that love one could, even when alone, lawfully avenge the other. In Dibër, indeed, he had no choice but to do so, and often outstripped a brother by birth. In Shkrel such vengeance has been taken 'five hundred times'. On the other hand, a compromise was the rule in western Mat. Solitary vengeance by a foster-brother was theoretically as unlawful as in Lumë, but in practice it was generally legalized by the 'master' of the feud, who sent the foster-brother a cartridge and so recognized him after the event as his emissary. Wherever foster-brothers had the right to take solitary vengeance, they seem to have derived it from their community of blood with the victim. For only those united by the drinking of blood possessed the right; those united by any other ceremony, by hair-cutting, for instance, were denied it. And in districts where they had the right, one could not go alone to avenge any relative of the other's. During their lifetime each regarded the other's relatives as father, brother, etc., and was regarded by them as son and brother, but when one was killed, the other ranked as an alien by blood and household and could only avenge his foster-brother by joining an expedition led by their 'master'. And almost everywhere blood-brotherhood was recognized as a complete bar to marriage between the two families.

Relations on the female side could always avenge a murdered man by joining an expedition led by his 'master'. Opinions differed about their right to avenge him when alone. Shkrel, the Malësi e Madhe generally, and Labinot held to the logical view. A sister's son, they said, although called 'nephew' like a brother's son, belonged to his father's family and was an outsider in his mother's. He had, therefore, no right, joint expeditions apart, to

[1] I.e. had sworn blood-brotherhood with him.

10 Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

X. Decisions Taken on April 30th, 1905, by the Youth of Shalë.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 126–7.)

1. As from to-day up to Ash Wednesday the percentage on loans at interest is to be paid with 25 okes of grain. If this is not paid by Ash Wednesday, a percentage of 30 okes is to be taken by force from the debtor.

As interest 100 grosh or 100 okes of grain as the creditor wishes are to be paid. Let him take 100 grosh if it suits him, or if he says, 'I'll have grain', let them give him 100 okes of grain.

2. Grain is never to be given to anybody by a man of Shalë unless it is wanted for a funeral meal or it is desired to make a present of not more than 20 okes.

3. Raki is never to be produced by a man of Shalë at a funeral meal except during the seven weeks of Lent.

4. No man of Shalë is ever to give away more than 100 grosh either outside or inside the tribe.

A godmother is not to present a red *xhamadam* (sleeveless jacket).

No woman is to go to a wedding in a party of five or more and they are not to seek a woman outside the same house.[1]

5. Whoever fires the first shot in the yard of a church or inside its boundaries is to have his house burned and must pay 20 purses under the guarantee of flock-cum-shepherd and the youth of Shalë.

6. If a man disturbs a mass that is being said and if the priest, crucifix in hand, says, 'So-and-so has troubled me', the offender will have his house burned and must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

7. Whoever touches Church property must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

8. Whoever molests the Church servant must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

9. If anyone borrows coffee and sugar from the priest for a funeral meal and does not return them to him within four weeks, and if the priest complains, he must pay a fine of one ox to the tribe.

10. Whoever steals an ewe, goat and cow from a man of Shalë and whoever does anything to his neighbour that disgraces him, shall have his harvest burned, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed. He will pay fines of one ox to the youth and 2 rams to the government representative.

11. These laws, enacted by the youth of Shalë together with the

[1] The last clause of § 4 is given as in Mrs Hasluck's MS., but there seems to be some mistake, as the corresponding passage in the Italian version of Father Gjeçov's *Kanùn* runs:

Lo shalano non può fare il compare più di 5 volte, e non può chiedere che si leghino in comparto più di 5 famiglie.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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Mongol people. Both Pechinegs and Comans, we hear in contemporary accounts of the Crusades, were used as soldiery by the Balkan princes.

A vivid account of Balkan armies in the Middle Ages is given by Nicephor Gregory and by Villehardouin (*v.* Dufresne Ducange, *History of Constantinople*, 1729), telling of the Latin capture of Constantinople when Count Baldwin of Flanders and the other princes established a Latin empire there, though on their way to a crusade in Palestine.

In 1204 Baldwin was crowned Emperor of Byzantium in St. Sofia with great magnificence, and was about to lead an army eastward when, "on a sudden, like the crash of a great thunderstorm, the terror of a Bulgarian rising stayed them. John, the brother of the first Asan and his successor, with troops levied through all Bulgaria, and not a few of the Scythians who dwell north of the Ister (Danube), fell upon Thrace with violence and greatly endangered the Latin State." Baldwin fought the Bulgars, with terrible slaughter on both sides. But the heavily armoured Crusaders could not cope with the swift Scythians; "some forty thousand Comans, who are a pagan people," ambushed them and overwhelmed them with lances and arrows. The ground was covered with corpses. Many Latins were taken prisoner, among them Baldwin himself, who was never seen again. "And the Scythians, in their fashion, laid waste Macedonia."

The whole of Villehardouin's account of the Fourth Crusade in the Balkans is of high interest for the light it throws on the conditions then prevailing. We see the Balkans reinforced by hordes from the north-east. Russia has always pressed Balkan-ward, and will again. The Turk had not yet arrived on the scene, but the Balkan already was the East, with aims and aspirations different from those of the West—a thing apart from West Europe, with its civilization built upon Rome. The Fourth Crusade was but one of the many vain attempts of the West to establish a permanent footing in the East.

Vain it was. Baldwin II, the last Latin emperor, poverty-stricken, was reduced to obtaining funds by selling the much-treasured relic, the Crown of Thorns, to the King of France, and buying the support of those very Comans who had formerly broken the Latin forces. He did this by swearing an alliance "with these barbarous people. In order to make the treaty more solemn they drew blood from their veins—one giving it to be drunk by the other, believing that from this mixture of blood they contracted a kind of brotherhood . . . which our people, driven by the necessity in which they found themselves, had also to do."

Thus in 1240 did the knights of France swear blood-brotherhood with pagans—a grotesque result of a Crusade which was to free the East of Unbelievers. A French noble, Nariot de Toucy, further cemented the bond by marrying the daughter of Jonas, Prince of the Comans. Vain

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efforts. Jonas died in 1241 and was buried outside Constantinople with full Scythian honours. A huge mound was raised above him, on the sides of which twenty-five of his serving-men, who voluntarily offered themselves, were hanged. Twenty-five horses were also hanged, and the prince thus provided with a mounted escort in another world. Not long afterwards the East expelled the West, and the Comans took part in the expulsion. The markedly Mongol types still common in Macedonia and Bulgaria are partly, maybe, the legacy of the "Coman and Scythian from beyond the Danube."

The custom of blood-brotherhood is so widely spread through the world that it was probably practised by other Balkan peoples besides the Comans.

It was very common among the North Albanian tribesmen, both Catholic and Moslem, when I was in the mountains. The Catholic Church regarded it as a pagan survival, and has made no effort to "Christianize" it, as has the Orthodox. The usage of ancient days is, therefore, little changed. In its crudest form the arm, or finger, of each was pricked by a thorn, and either party licked the other's blood. The favourite and more elaborate way was described to me by my old friend, Tony Precha, of Mirdite descent, thus: "I travelled through a dangerous district with a young Moslem when I was a lad. He asked me to be his brother. I had to ask permission of my father, the head of the house. He said theirs was a good house to be allied to. When some time had passed and we still wished for brotherhood, we met, and each tied a tight string round his little finger till it swelled, then pricked the finger, and each let his blood drop on a lump of sugar. I ate his lump and he mine. We were then of the same blood and swore brotherhood. Then I dined at his house, and we gave each other presents of socks knitted in beautiful patterns. He is now dead, but his brothers are my brothers and our children are cousins, and they cannot marry for more than a hundred years."

The interdict against marriage, however, in a case of sworn brotherhood, applied only to the direct descendants of the couple and not to any collaterals.

Sugar was used in this case because one party was Moslem. In the case of Christians the blood is always taken in raki or in wine. Red wine, doubtless because most resembling blood, is the correct medium.

Blood-brotherhood was, of course, not reckoned a "forbidden degree" by the Church, but in practice was strictly observed by the people.

The swearing of blood-brotherhood between some members of either side was one of the ways of making peace after a blood-feud. In Dushmani I met a high-spirited youth who had laid in wait on the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

H 302 782 Poseidon would kindly accept it as substitute for the body. In this case evidently he did so.

G 302 852 The Orthodox Church, too, dedicates the child, after immersion and unction, by "clipping off four locks of hair as sign of the Cross, the pope saying: 'The servant of God is shorn in the name of God.' The pieces of hair are mixed with some wax from the candle and dropped into the font by the child's father" (Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Roman Church*). The hair, no doubt, is dropped into the holy water to save it from being used for spells by some wicked person.

My friend Mr. Stroud Read, who has lived much in Greece, tells me that there is a tendency there now to omit the hair-cutting from baptism, the pope sometimes refusing to have it done in church, but that it is done, nevertheless, by the laity at home after returning from the church. Someone is invited to be hair-cutter, and the clippings are dropped into a pan of hot charcoal.

M 852 582 608 The two ceremonies were formerly separate ones in Montenegro. Pope Gjuro told me there used to be two kumstvos (sponsorships): Shishano Kumstvo (shearing kumstvo), and Mokro (wet) or Krsteno Kumstvo (baptism). The former, as a separate kumstvo, is now extinct. It used to carry with it spiritual relationship and prevent the intermarriage of the direct descendants of the sponsor and those of the child's father for several generations. The marriage circle was thus further restricted and drove folk farther afield in search of a wife. Medakovitch, describing the ceremony as done by the laity between 1840 and 1850, says it was done some time after baptism. Three locks were cut in the name of the Trinity and thrown on the dunghill. At that time the ceremony did not form an obstacle to marriage.

A 852 [17H] About three years after my nail-scissors had become an ecclesiastical implement I learnt in the Albanian mountains what is probably the most complete form in which the ceremony now survives. It is performed habitually by both Moslems and Christians. The Catholic priests try to suppress this pagan practice, which, nevertheless, their flock considers quite as important as baptism and even more so. A careful study of those pagan practices adopted by one Church and abhorred by the other might throw light on the centres or origin of such practices.

A 852 608 In North Albania the "kumpare i floksh" (sponsor of hair) is chosen when the child is about two years old. He is a man with whom the head of the house wishes to be related. The family being assembled out of doors, the kumpare (conpatrem, compère) sits down on the ground, and first takes another child on his knees to ensure that his "hair child" shall not be the last his parents have. He then takes his "hair child," whose hair as yet has never been cut, and snips off four locks of hair

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to the four quarters of the heavens—north, south, east, and west. These locks are at once destroyed. Handsome gifts are then exchanged, the kumpare giving sometimes as much as two or three gold napoleons, and receiving some embroidered garments or the elaborately patterned knitted socks which are favourite ceremonial gifts. A great feast, of course, follows. The child's father and the kumpare are now brothers, and their children are not intermarriageable till the seventh degree. In olden days I was assured they were never intermarriageable, and ranked exactly as consanguines. Near Scutari this prohibition had lapsed altogether. Among the Pulati and Dukagini it was still believed in. At Thethi Shala in 1908 a man rushed into the church to stop a marriage on the ground that the parties were cousins by hair-cutting. The Franciscan who was officiating refused to recognize the impediment and married the couple. Whereupon the outraged tribesman ran hot-foot to the Bishop of Pulati and denounced the Franciscan for having celebrated an incestuous marriage. The bishop refused to listen to him. He and his friends then hastened to Scutari, and begged the Turkish Vali to denounce the marriage. The Vali said he did not care whom the Christians married. The bridegroom belonged to a very strong house and so was not molested, and the matter dropped.

The Moslems cut but three locks of hair because four makes a cross, whereas a triangle is a popular Moslem pattern (*v.* Tattoos). But the Montenegrin, as we have seen, cut three for the Holy Trinity.

The clipping of the four locks out of doors to the four quarters of the heavens has all the appearance of being a dedication to the sun. Sun-worship, as we have seen, was widely spread in the Balkans. When we find this ceremony considered of high importance in the very district where sun and moon symbols are still commonly carved and tattooed, we are tempted to connect them. That the rite is ancient and pre-Christian cannot be doubted.

The Catholic Church strives to suppress the notion of "hair-cutting incest." The Orthodox Church, by admitting hair-cutting as part of the baptismal ceremonial, has perpetuated it; for baptismal godfatherhood prohibits the marriage of descendants of either party till the seventh degree. "Hair-cutting incest," therefore, prohibits marriage between the descendants of the Duke of York and the Karageorgevitch, for the papers were careful to inform us that locks of hair were duly clipped when the Duke and Duchess of York acted as godparents to the heir to the Serbian throne. Their Royal Highnesses took part in a pagan ceremony of unknown antiquity. You can never tell what a Balkan alliance will let you in for.

The hair-cutting in the Russian baptism is probably an importation from Byzantium, as is also the unshorn priest. A deacon, on ordination,

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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S 608 852 302 tonsure of his godchild, following the church practice of taking hair from the temples and the occiput, places upon his head a new cap—perhaps once a tribal emblem, at any rate a protective garment with special properties and associations—and makes and receives certain presents which witness to the contract of *kum*ship. It is thought that the hair of the [782] [776] child was offered to the presiding spirit, or the genius of birth, who in turn have been connected with ancestral spirits, inhabiting streams and trees. As a precaution, the hair is carefully preserved; it is not allowed to fall to the ground, but caught in a cloth and afterwards rolled in wax, and either then or later it is placed or buried under a young rose tree. For the child concerned it is a passage rite. It is a S [551] current belief that a child is not safe until it has been baptised, and until then it is known by a protective, misleading nickname. The rite of tonsure also ensures its security, partly, surely, by fixing its identity and establishing relationship with a sponsor or protector, who becomes responsible in part for it, and with the society on which its life and strength depend. S 852 608 [755] Weakly children are baptised in haste, and where the tonsure rite has lost its first meaning, I have heard of it as an extra precautionary rite for ailing children. When a child is born sickly, or of parents whose other children have died early, there is a custom by which it is carried outside the house, say to a cross-roads. The father or woman who carries the child generally beseeches the first passer-by to stand as godfather. Sometimes the child is left for the first who finds it to pick up and adopt, or claim as godchild, and thus give it his protection. On Kosovo the child is moreover carefully bound round and laid, its face to the ground, with its head to the East. The finder turns the child over and reverses its position, pronouncing a blessing of long life.

A 852 608 628 The rôle of redeemer is clearly seen in an Albanian rite quoted by Hahn. The children to be sponsored, at the ceremonial reconciliation of parties of a blood feud, were brought in their cradles by women to the house of the wronged party, and set with the children's heads turned to the West. The

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sign of their acceptance was the turning of the children round so that their heads were to the East, symbolising release from death, and in this case, pardon.

The special relationship between protector and protected, which has been stressed in descriptions of primitive society, was also characteristic of the Balkan peoples; the pardoned murderer, the man whose life had been spared, or who had claimed protection or some special boon—all of which naturally had to be done in a special way—was from then onwards not only the lifelong and intimate ally of his protector, but enjoyed the other's greatest respect and consideration.[1] It was laid down in the traditional regulations for concluding a vendetta that the party of the murderer should give a certain number of sponsor children and blood brothers, according to the number of lives owing, to be received by the offended person and his relatives in the usual way. This was not merely a means of securing peace by a sacred alliance but in the nature of a compensating fine. The murderer placed himself and his children at the mercy of the men he had wronged. From the conventions attaching to pardon and redemption the new relationship proceeds. It is possible that formerly a real substitute for the life in dispute was offered, and that it was entirely at the pleasure of the offended party to spare or to pardon the children. Only by a special ceremony could peace be made without blood. The feast which usually followed was a compensatory sacrifice and included a memorial of the dead. These customs amongst the South Slavs have died out; vendetta is no longer an open tribal business, and descriptions of the ceremonies are often lacking in detail, and particularly the important detail of the exact manner in which the *kum* received the children. However, the symbolical act of raising from death is occasionally mentioned, and on enquiry I found that it was remembered in tradition, here and there, unambiguously as such.

[1] There are common peasant sayings of the form: 'Of whom should you ask a favour if not of me, who helped you in the past?'

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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S 608 755 In Homoljski district the deliverer not only performed the symbolical opening of the fetters, but drew his 'brother' under the pot chains or through a hoop made by a wild-rose-tree branch which was split, or under a branch of the tree bent to the ground to form an arch. At Sokobanja, also, the rite could be done at the hearth. Brotherhood in the ordinary way could be made at the hearth and by passing under the pot chains. Touching the pot chains among the Albanians A [608] [796] gave a fugitive the right of asylum, and automatically involved the householder's *besa*. Should a pilgrim to the monastery of St John of Rila, when creeping through an opening in a certain stone as custom recommends, not be able to get through and another gave him his hand to help him, they afterwards went before a priest to get a blessing on their accidental brotherhood.[1] In the district of Homoljski there are further purifications with water, elaborate burials or floating away of objects used in the rites, fumigation and drinking potions, e.g. of the coals used for the divining, etc., etc. The purpose that is understood is shown by the burial of a bird or animal under the tree which has been used. The rite of redemption can be done thus:

On the eve of a feast day the seeress clears a space round a wild-rose bush which has sprouted that year, scatters ashes on the roots and leaves a piece of bread there. Crossing herself and walking backwards she repeats: 'I have seen you (this is said to the young branches), you have not seen me or him', until she catches sight of a living creature. Then she stops, turns her back to the tree, crosses herself with her left hand and says: 'As he looked at you so look at him.' She leaves immediately without looking back. Before the next dawn, she, the redeemer, the sick person and the latter's mother, go to the bush again, the mother having made ready a jar of water drawn at midnight, a bunch of basil,

[1] *v.* Načov, *op. cit.* The rites of creeping under something may be compared with the old Norse ceremony of making brotherhood by creeping under a 'halter of turf'; cf. K. Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben* (Berlin, 1886), p. 287.

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pletely static. It changes with local needs. We have seen how in Dukagin the local geographical requirements split a *fis*, and how in the relatively less warlike Moslem areas with a reduction in need for extended exogamy, the device of a 7-generation distance was innovated, while village exogamy disappeared. So far we are dealing with reductions in exogamy. However, there are instances in which the opposite occurs, and the incest group is extended. Two ritual mechanisms provide for this, blood brotherhood and godfatherhood.

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When 2 men become close friends and allies, and find themselves in need of each other's assistance, particularly in feuds, their relationship becomes similar to that of brothers, which is an extremely close one. It is therefore considered necessary that they make this relationship legal, which they do by means of a simple ceremony. The 2 men prick their fingers with knives, and either lick each other's blood, or bleed mutually into a cup of *raki*, which both drink. Once this has been done they are one in blood, and their children cannot marry each other. The other rite, godfatherhood, has its

[p. 29 (a)]

The other rite, godfatherhood, has its
608 motivation in exactly the same circumstances;
852 but it is made to coincide with another rite of passage, that of the first haircut of a baby boy, the son of one of the participants. The father, child, and prospective godfather meet outdoors, in the presence of other kin. The godfather holds the boy in his lap, and snips off 4 locks of hair, if Christian, and 3, if Moslem. The difference lies in the refusal of the Moslem to make the sign of the cross. The godfather then burns the hair. A feast follows, during which the godfather gives the father a present of cash, the father reciprocating with a gift of fine clothing.

604 Both of these rites place the descendants of
614 the 2 principals in an incest relationship. They do not, however, apply to collateral kin, for if *A* and *B* become blood brothers or godfathers, *A*'s brother's son can still wed *B*'s daughter, while *A*'s son cannot. This complicates the picture beyond this simple *fis* system and provides a number of special relationships to meet individual requirements. Needless to say, the local Catholic clergy frown on both these practices.

1 [blood brotherhood and godfatherhood see cat. 116, pp. 29a - 29b .. Analyst']

[596] set its internal stability. The very act of vengeance is a ritual, as is the constant repetition of the need for vengeance. The rites of blood brotherhood and godfatherhood are rituals performed by Catholic and Moslem alike.

776 Both Catholics and Moslems believe in a host of malevolent spirits which pay the mountains a seasonal visit in the springtime, and which can sometimes be kept at bay by the use of amulets. These evil spirits are of course the symbols of the general hunger, illness, and irritability which beset the mountaineers at 753 this critical season. Catholics and Moslems alike attribute non-traumatic illnesses to spells cast by magicians, through the agency of hair and nail clippings. Wasting illnesses, such as consumption and cancer, may be attributed to vampires, sucking their victim's blood.

754 A vampire is said to be a human being, usually but not always a woman, who can change herself into an insect and fly into a room in which her victim is sleeping. As she fills with the blood, she has to leave now and then to spit it out. A person who finds such a gobbet of blood on the path is lucky; he can wrap it up and keep it as an amulet to protect him against vampires—and incidentally probably expose himself and his family to tuberculosis.

When people are hungry and ill, it is easy to suspect others of evil magic. The person named as a witch or vampire will of course be someone whose actions are eccentric or mysterious, who is a cause of disturbance in the community, and whose loss will not be greatly felt. If a child is suffering from malnutrition its parents may accuse some old woman, and drag her from her house. They will accuse her of having sucked blood from the child, and force her to spit in the child's mouth. Under protest she may spit merely in order to get away. If the child recovers, then the parents are sure she is a vampire; if the child dies she was innocent for her spittle did not cure it. People do not like being accused of witchcraft, or of having their aged grandmothers hauled off for trial; such actions, like the very suspicion itself, may result in bloodshed.

782 The Ghegs are great oath-swearers. Between blood feuds rivals will swear to keep the peace, on a stone in the presence of the

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missionaries were surprised to find that Catholic priests in Albania baptized male children of the Turks (that is, Moslems) solely because of a superstition; "Solo per alcune superstitioni." (1)

1. J. Radonich, op. cit., p. 103

Another report, bearing a somewhat later date (1646), by the vice-prefect of the mission in Albania, Fra Gregoria Romano Trassini, states that children of Moslems baptized by Christian priests, later on live as "Turks." (2) Toma Tomichich, Archbishop of Skoplje,

2. Ibidem, p. 116

in 1755 in his report to the Congregation 'de propaganda fide' in Rome, speaks of baptism of children of the "Dvoverci" in his diocese. He also states that real "Turks" (that is, Moslems who seem more probably to have been Albanians, rather than Turks - M. S. F.), frequently used to invite Catholic priests to baptize their male children because they were convinced that if the children were baptized, then a witch would not devour them ("Accio le streghe non mangino i loro figlioli"/" In order that witches do not devour their children"/). (3) Finally, we have a report from

3. Ibidem, pp 641-642.

the middle of the nineteenth century that the Albanian Moslems used to have their children baptized in order to cure them of illness, but that the Catholic priests were forbidden to perform such baptisms. (4)

4. G. v. Hahn, "Albanesische Studien" (Jena, 1854), p. 38.

A. 608 851 Not only in Hahn's time, but even today there are among the Albanian Moslems those who have been baptized; today, however, there are fewer of these than at an earlier time. Among the Albanian Moslems, and especially among the Moslem Gypsies in the area of Preshovo and Buianovci, there is a custom in families where child mortality is high, to place a newborn baby out on the road. If the first man to find the child is a Moslem, he takes the baby, and accepts and performs the "shishano kumstvo." (a colloquialism, meaning an incomplete performance of the ritual of a godfather) /122/ If the first one to find the baby is a Christian, he becomes the baby's godfather at the baptism

performed according to the Orthodox ritual. Such a Moslem child, after he grows up, customarily goes to church, and holds great esteem for his godfather. Thus is the case, for example, of an Albanian whose first name is Nenad, living in the village of Moravica (1948).

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There are not as many first-hand and precise reports about baptized Moslems whose mother tongue is Serbian. This, however, does not mean that these Moslems resorted to such baptism to a lesser extent than other Moslems. The scarcity of reports is due only to the fact that there are generally fewer written records about the people's life in earlier periods in the regions where they lived.

During 1623 and 1624, Peter Masarech (from 1624 on he was bishop of Prizren), papal visitor, traveled through the Balkan countries. He submitted an exhaustive report about his travels, in which he answered the fifty-four questions asked in the instructions given him by the Congregation 'de propaganda fide'. In answer to question number twenty-four, Masarech asserts that Bosnian Franciscans baptized "Turkish" children, not because they, the Franciscans, were superstitious, but because of the superstitions of the parents who had their children baptized in order that such children would have good fortune, be victorious in battle, and would escape misfortune, fears, evil spirits, and similar calamities. In certain localities children were baptized by coercion. (1)

1. K. Draganovich, "Izvješće apostolskog vizitatora Petra Masarechija o prilikama kat, naroda u Bugarskoj, Srbiji, Srijemu, Slavoniji i Bosni, g. 1623 i 1624." /"Report by Peter Masarech, apostolic visitor, on the conditions of the Catholic population in Bulgaria, Serbia, Srem, Slavonia, and Bosnia, in 1623 and 1624"/, Starine, XXXIX (Zagreb, 1938), p. 14.

At that time the Bosnian Franciscans performed priestly functions not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in Slavonia, those parts of Hungary which were under the Turks, and in Belgrade. The above report, therefore, can be accepted as valid not only for Bosnia alone, but also for the above mentioned regions.

There is one special example which has been preserved in a folk poem. Two variants of this poem about Kushtrim Vasoievich were published ten years ago. According to the first